## Studien zur Wahl- und Einstellungsforschung 27

## Demographic Change in Germany - its Political Consequences

von Laura Konzelmann, Michael Bergmann, Hans Rattinger

1. Auflage

Nomos Baden-Baden 2014

Verlag C.H. Beck im Internet: www.beck.de ISBN 978 3 8487 0822 2 Demographic change holds Germany firmly in its grip. The consequences of this development are diverse and increasingly have come into the focus of political debates and scientific research over recent years. This book deals with one aspect of demographic change which as of yet has received comparatively little attention. Its basic question is: What consequences does the ageing society have on political attitudes and political behavior of the German population? Using various sources of data and methods of analysis this question is investigated from multiple perspectives, each with a different thematic thrust. Projections of future developments are also provided.

#### The Authors:

Laura Konzelmann is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Mannheim. Michael Bergmann is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Mannheim. Hans Rattinger is Professor of Political Science at the University of Mannheim.

The series is edited by Hans Rattinger, Oscar W. Gabriel and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck.

Studien zur Wahl- und Einstellungsforschung

27

Konzelmann | Bergmann | Rattinger

Laura Konzelmann | Michael Bergmann | Hans Rattinger

Demographic Change in Germany – its Political Consequences Demographic Change in Germany – its Political Consequences

158N 978-3-8487-0822-2

27



Nomos

The series "Studien zur Wahl- und Einstellungsforschung"

is edited by

Prof. Dr. Hans Rattinger, University of Mannheim Prof. Dr. Oscar W. Gabriel, University of Stuttgart Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, University of Mannheim

Volume 27

Laura Konzelmann | Michael Bergmann Hans Rattinger

# Demographic Change in Germany – its Political Consequences



**Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

ISBN: HB 978-3-8487-0822-2

ePDF 978-3-8452-5010-6

#### **British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: HB 978-3-8487-0822-2

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Konzelmann, Laura/Bergmann, Michael/Rattinger, Hans Demographic Change in Germany – its Political Consequences Laura Konzelmann/Michael Bergmann/Hans Rattinger ca. 340 p.

Includes bibliographic references and index.

ISBN 978-3-8487-0822-2

#### 1. Edition 2014

© Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany 2014. Printed and bound in Germany.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, re-cording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers. Under § 54 of the German Copyright Law where copies are made for other than private use a fee is payable to "Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort", Munich.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Nomos or the autor(s)/editor(s).

### Contents

List of Figures	11
List of Tables	17
1. Introduction	19
<ul> <li>1.1 The Problem</li> <li>1.2 Demographic Change in Germany: An Overview</li> <li>1.2.1 Introductory Remarks</li> <li>1.2.2 Development of the Total Fertility Rate</li> <li>1.2.3 Development of Average Life Expectancy</li> <li>1.2.4 Development of the Migration Balance</li> <li>1.2.5 Development of the Total Population</li> <li>1.2.6 Development of Population Ageing</li> <li>1.3 Structure of the Book</li> </ul>	19 28 28 29 33 34 36 38 42
2. Theoretical Background	45
<ul> <li>2.1 Scope of the Chapter</li> <li>2.2 Explaining Age Differences in Political Behavior and Political Attitudes</li> <li>2.2.1 Age Effects</li> <li>2.2.2 Cohort Effects</li> <li>2.3 Implications for Upcoming Elections</li> </ul>	45 46 46 49 51
3. Detecting Political Consequences of Demographic Change at the Aggregate Level	55
<ul> <li>3.1 Scope of the Chapter</li> <li>3.2 Data and Research Strategy</li> <li>3.3 Overview of Political and Context Characteristics in Regions With an Extreme Age Structure</li> <li>3.4 Demographic Change and the Changing Social-Economic Context</li> <li>3.5 Consequences for Turnout</li> <li>3.5.1 Description of Turnout in Federal Elections</li> <li>3.5.2 Cross-Sectional Analyses of Turnout Differences</li> </ul>	55 57 60 65 74 74 83

3.5.3 Longitudinal Analyses of Turnout Changes	87
3.6 Consequences for the Party Vote	92
3.6.1 Description of the Party Vote in Federal Elections	92
3.6.2 Cross-Sectional Analyses of Party Vote Differences	106
3.6.3 Longitudinal Analyses of Party Vote Changes	115
3.7 Summary	124
4. Detecting Political Consequences of Demographic Change Using the	
Representative Electoral Statistics	
(co-authored by Corina Wagner)	127
4.1 Scope of the Chapter	127
4.2 Data and Research Strategy	129
4.2.1 Data Sources	129
4.2.2 Weighting Procedure	133
4.2.3 Reduction of Cases	134
4.2.4 Research Strategy	135
4.3 Consequences for Turnout	137
4.3.1 Explanatory Power of the Cohort Analytic Model for Turnout	137
4.3.2 Net Effects on Turnout	139
4.3.2.1 Computation of Net Effects	139
4.3.2.2 Net Effects of Period on Turnout	140
4.3.2.3 Net Effects of Cohort on Turnout	141
4.3.2.4 Net Effects of Age on Turnout	144
4.3.3 Polarization of Turnout	146
4.3.4 Future Developments of Turnout	148
4.3.4.1 Assumptions	148
4.3.4.2 Predicted Turnout Rates	150
4.3.4.3 Ageing of (Eligible) Voters	152
4.3.4.4 Future Polarization of Turnout	153
4.4 Consequences for the Party Vote	155
4.4.1 Explanatory Power of the Cohort Analytic Model for the Party	
Vote	155
4.4.2 Net Effects on the Party Vote	157
4.4.2.1 Net Effects of Period on the Party Vote	157
4.4.2.2 Net Effects of Cohort on the Party Vote	160
4.4.2.3 Net Effects of Age on the Party Vote	165
4.4.3 Polarization of the Party Vote	169
4.4.4 Future Developments of the Party Vote	174
4.5 Summary	179

5. Detecting Political Consequences of Demographic Change at the	
Individual Level	183
5.1 Scope of the Chapter	183
5.2 Data and Research Strategy	185
5.3 Age-Specific Differences in Political Attitudes	189
5.3.1 Introductory Remarks	189
5.3.2 Evaluations of the Welfare State	192
5.3.2.1 Salience of Different Policy Areas	192
5.3.2.2 Desired Government Responsibility for Different Policy	1,2
Areas	196
5.3.2.3 Desired Government Spending for Different Policy Areas	199
5.3.2.4 Satisfaction About Different Policy Areas	201
5.3.2.5 Fears About Own Old Age	203
5.3.3 Assessing Party Competences	205
5.3.4 Political Attitudes, Value Orientations, and Perceptions	213
5.4 Consequences for Turnout	218
5.4.1 Turnout by Age	218
5.4.2 Determinants of Turnout	220
5.4.3 Multivariate Analyses of Turnout	223
5.5 Consequences for the Party Vote	232
5.5.1 Party Vote by Age	232
5.5.2 Determinants of the Party Vote	234
5.5.3 Multivariate Analyses of the Party Vote	236
5.6 Summary	252
6. Conclusions	255
Appendix A – Additional Tables and Figures	263
Appendix 11 Additional Tubles and Figures	202
Amondia D. Duccodamo of Cabatitatina Missina DEC Data	215
Appendix B – Procedure of Substituting Missing RES Data	317
Appendix C – Extract from the Questionnaire	321
References	327
Index	336